



# The Relationship Between Military Organization and Economic Structure in the Umayyad State in al-Andalus

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## Abstract

This study examines the relationship between the military organization and the economic structure in the Umayyad State in al-Andalus, analyzing the impact of the military establishment on the state's economic prosperity and wealth. In the medieval Islamic world, military power played a critical role in the collection, protection and sustainability of economic resources, serving as a determinant factor in preserving the political stability of states. Within this context, the primary aim of the study is to comprehensively analyze the relationship between the military organization and the economic structure across the various historical phases of the Umayyad State in al-Andalus, spanning from the period of the Great Fitna to the caliphal era and the post-“Amirid decline. The present study employs an analytical approach to historical data to compare the economic conditions during periods of strong and weak military organizations. During the period known as the Great Fitna, the occurrence of uprisings led to a weakening of central authority. This, in turn, had an adverse effect on military organization. The subsequent challenges, including declining tax revenues and the closure of trade routes, were not effectively addressed by the central administration, which lacked sufficient military might to do so. This sequence of events contributed to a marked economic decline, leading the state to the threshold of a substantial crisis. Conversely, during the caliphal era, the robust military forces established by ‘Abd al-Rahmān III and his son al-Hakam II effectively suppressed rebellions, safeguarded trade routes and promoted agricultural production. Notably, the disciplined central army established under ‘Abd al-Rahmān III ensured the regular collection of taxes, significantly enriching the state treasury. The collection of taxes from newly conquered territories, in conjunction with the strengthening of commercial activities, directly contributed to an economic boom. The period also saw significant advancements in naval strength and the strategic development of port cities, enhancing the influence of Qurṭuba on Mediterranean trade routes and fostering commercial relations with the Maghreb and Europe. At the same time, in the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, agricultural production was safeguarded through the construction of fortified structures known as hisn, alongside the development of irrigation systems, thereby ensuring the security of trade-related agricultural activities. During the “Amirid era, the military reforms initiated under the leadership of al-Mansūr initially did not adversely affect the functioning of the army. However, the abolition of the military-based iqta system eventually weakened the military structure. Although the augmentation of the military with new groups provided short-term success, prolonged civil wars significantly undermined the army's strength, disrupting economic stability and accelerating the state's collapse. The findings of this study underscore the indispensable role of a well-functioning military organization in ensuring economic stability, as a strong military establishment facilitates the regular collection of tax revenues, safeguards trade routes and fosters economic prosperity. Conversely, periods of military weakness are marked by deepening economic crises, whereas periods of military strength witness peak economic affluence. Consequently, it can be concluded that the economic stability and prosperity of the Umayyad State in al-Andalus were inextricably linked to the strength of its military organization.

## Keywords

Islamic History, Umayyad State in al-Andalus, Military Organization, Economic Prosperity, Tax Revenues, Trade Activities.

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Abstracting and Indexes



# Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nde Askerî Teşkilat ile Ekonomik Yapı Arasındaki İlişki

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## Öz

Bu araştırma, Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nde askerî teşkilat ile ekonomik yapı arasındaki bağıntıyı ele almakta, askerî teşkilatın devletin ekonomik refahı ve iktisadî zenginlik üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Orta Çağ İslam dünyasında askerî gücün, ekonomik kaynakların toplanması, korunması ve sürdürülebilirliği üzerindeki kritik rolü, devletlerin siyasî istikrarını koruma açısından belirleyicidir. Bu bağlamda çalışmanın temel amacı, Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nin büyük fitne döneminden başlayarak hilâfet dönemine ve Âmirîler dönemi sonrası çöküş sürecine kadar uzanan farklı tarihsel evrelerinde, askerî teşkilat ile ekonomik yapı arasındaki ilişkiyi kapsamlı bir şekilde incelemektir. Çalışmada tarihî veriler, analitik bir yaklaşımla ele alınmış; askerî teşkilatın güçlü ve zayıf olduğu dönemler arasındaki ekonomik farklar karşılaştırılmıştır. Büyük fitne döneminde meydana gelen isyanlar, merkezi otoritenin zayıflamasına ve bu durumun askerî teşkilatı da olumsuz etkilemesine yol açmıştır. İsyanların ardından vergi gelirlerinin azalması ve ticaret yollarının kapanması gibi sorunlarla karşılaşan merkezi yönetim, yeterli askerî güce sahip olmadığı için bu sorunları çözmekte başarısız olmuştur. Bu zayıflık, ekonomik çöküşü hızlandırmış ve devleti derin bir krizin eşiğine getirmiştir. Bunun karşısında, hilâfet döneminde III. Abdurrahman ve oğlu II. Hakem'in kurduğu güçlü ordular ile isyanlar bastırılmış, ticaret yollarının güvenliği sağlanmış ve tarımsal üretim teşvik edilmiştir. Özellikle III. Abdurrahman döneminde kurulan disiplinli merkezî ordu, vergilerin düzenli toplanmasını güvence altına almış ve devlet hazinesi büyük ölçüde zenginleşmiştir. Fethedilen bölgelerden alınan vergiler ve güçlenen ticarî faaliyetler, ekonomik refahın yükselmesine doğrudan katkı sağlamıştır. Zamanla donanmanın güçlendirilmesi ve liman şehirlerinin stratejik olarak yapılandırılması, Akdeniz ticaret yollarında Kurtuba yönetiminin etkisini artırmış, Magrib ve dönemin Avrupa'sıyla olan ticarî ilişkilerin gelişmesine zemin hazırlamıştır. Aynı zamanda Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nde ziraî üretimin güvenliği için sulama sistemleriyle birlikte, hisn adı verilen tahkimatlar inşa edilmiş ve ticarete konu olan tarımsal faaliyetler emniyet altına alınmıştır. Alınan önlemler, üretim kapasitesini artırarak ekonomik büyümeye katkı sağlamıştır. Âmirîler dönemine gelindiğinde, Ebû Âmir el-Mansûr'un liderliğinde askerî teşkilatta gerçekleştirilen reformlar, başlangıçta ordunun işleyişini olumsuz etkilememiştir. Ancak bu reformlardan biri olan askerî temelli iktâ sisteminin kaldırılması, ilerleyen dönemlerde askerî yapının zayıflamasına neden olmuştur. Bu dönemde, askerî teşkilatın yeni gruplarla takviye edilmesi kısa vadede bazı başarılar sağlamış olsa da uzun süren iç savaşlar ordunun gücünü önemli ölçüde kırmıştır. Bu durum, ekonomik istikrarın bozulmasına yol açarak devletin çöküş sürecini hızlandırmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları, düzenli işleyen bir askerî teşkilatın ekonomik istikrarın sağlanması açısından mutlak bir öneme sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Güçlü askerî teşkilatın vergi gelirlerin düzenli toplanması, ticaret yollarının güvence altına alınması ve ekonomik refahın artması gibi hususları sağladığı görülmektedir. Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nin askerî gücünün zayıfladığı dönemlerde ekonomik krizlerin derinleştiği; güçlü olduğu dönemlerde ise ekonomik refahın en yüksek düzeye ulaştığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

## Anahtar Kelimeler

İslam Tarihi, Endülüs Emevî Devleti, Askerî Teşkilat, Ekonomik Refah, Vergi Gelirleri, Ticarî Faaliyetler.

## Atıf

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## Introduction

The Umayyad State of al-Andalus, with its military organization structured under strong leadership and centralized authority, played a crucial role in ensuring security and maintaining economic stability. The efficient functioning of the military organization supported key elements of the financial structure, such as the security of trade routes, the protection of agricultural production and the continuity of tax revenues. Conversely, weaknesses within the organization led directly to economic crises and social unrest.

The primary objective of this research is to examine the relationship between the military organization and the economic structure of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus within the framework of tax revenues and commercial activities. The study will focus on comparing the periods of strength under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Hakam II with the periods of decline following the Fitna and the post-‘Āmirid era. The objective is to reveal the connection between the military structure and the economy in this context.

Existing literature on the economic and military structures of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus often addresses these two elements independently, neglecting to delve deeply into their interactions and interconnections. Notable works such as *Endülüs Müslümanları Kültür ve Medeniyet* by Mehmet Özdemir, *Endülüs Siyasi Tarihi* by Nizamettin Parlak and *Endülüs Emevî Devleti’nin İdarî Yapısı* by Orhan Küskü offer valuable insights into the economic system of the Umayyad State. However, these studies do not specifically explore the impact of military organization on economic prosperity. This lacuna in the extant literature underscores the necessity for original research in this area.

The primary research problem of this study revolves around understanding how the functioning of the military organization impacts the economic structure. The study employs a qualitative research methodology, utilizing data collected through an extensive literature review. To obtain the necessary data for the research, historical sources were first determined and then analyzed. The collected data was then categorized, dividing the periods into phases of strong and weak military organization. During these phases, the study examines the relationship between the amount of taxes collected by the state, construction and infrastructure activities and the intensity of military campaigns.

The primary indicators that offer the most concrete insights into the economic structure, namely tax revenues and commercial activities, constitute the main focus of this study. A thorough review of historical sources reveals that systematic and chronological data concerning these two indicators in the Umayyad State of al-Andalus commences primarily with the caliphate period, particularly under the rule of the first caliph, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. In contrast, the preceding emirate period is characterized by a paucity of such data. Systematic records for the emirate period are available only for the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, when the military organization was at its weakest and these records pertain solely to the amount of taxes collected.

Consequently, the present study is predominantly constrained to the caliphate period, thereby facilitating a more comprehensive evaluation of the available data and the presentation of concrete indicators for the era. However, despite being outside the caliphate period, the systematic economic data available for the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, when the military organization was at its weakest, necessitated the inclusion of this period in the analysis. This methodological decision was made to facilitate a more comprehensive evaluation of the relationship between economic prosperity and military organization within the broader framework of the available historical data.

### 1. The Relationship Between Military Organization and Economy in the Umayyad State of al-Andalus in the Context of Tax Revenues

In the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, taxation constituted a critical element of economic prosperity, serving to replenish the state treasury and facilitate the payment of soldiers’ salaries, in addition to addressing the other needs of the military. This approach to taxation enabled the state to effectively suppress potential threats, thereby ensuring its stability and order. The fair and equitable collection of taxes, without oppressing the people, was regarded as a paramount responsibility of the head of state.<sup>1</sup> Another key aspect of the financial structures was the allocation of revenues. In the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, revenues derived from the aforementioned sources were primarily allocated to military expenses, followed by construction activities, while the remaining portion was transferred to the treasury as a reserve fund.<sup>2</sup> Military expenditures encompassed

<sup>1</sup> Abū al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Bassam al-Shentarinī, *al-Zahira fī meḥāsini al-ḥira*, Critical ed. Ihsan Abbas (Beirut: Dār al-sekāfa, 1978), 1/120.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Khatīb, *A’māl al-a’lām fī men būyi’a kable al-ihlām min mulūki al-Islām*, Critical ed. L. P. Lévi-Provençal (Beirut: Dār al-Meksūf, 1956), 38; *Zikru bilād al-Andalus*, Critical ed. Luis Molina (Madrid: 198), 163; Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Izārī al-Marrakushi, *Bayān al-Mughrib* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutūb al-Ilmiyya, 1985), 2/231.

initiatives aimed at safeguarding the state's security, fortifying its borders and constructing fortifications, roads, bridges and other infrastructure projects. The reserve fund, which was accumulated in the treasury, was intended to ensure the state's financial stability during periods of economic crises or under unforeseen circumstances.

The collection of taxes in al-Andalus was carried out through tax officials, who were typically the eldest individuals within the community, the commanders of local military units, centrally appointed amil, governors or tribal leaders granted *iqta*. In major regions of al-Andalus, taxes such as *kharāj* and *jizya* were levied on the local Christian population, primarily derived from the agricultural produce of their lands.<sup>3</sup> In instances where taxes were collected by a regional commander, one-third of the collected taxes was allocated to the soldiers stationed in the area, while the remaining two-thirds were remitted to the central authority.<sup>4</sup> During certain periods, *qāḍīs* (judges), *hisbe officials* and *shurṭa* also participated in tax collection activities.<sup>5</sup>

The Umayyad State of al-Andalus derived its primary revenue from two sources: taxes and commercial activities. The state implemented various measures to encourage domestic production and enhance the export of agricultural goods. To ensure the safe storage and subsequent export of agricultural products, strategic military structures were constructed. Merchants from France and Eastern Europe played an active role in trade within markets of al-Andalus. These commercial activities stimulated market dynamics and increased state revenues through taxes collected from these merchants.

The collection of taxes, which constitutes a fundamental pillar of economic prosperity and the secure continuation of commercial activities are contingent upon the efficient and well-organized functioning of the military structure. The existence of a robust and deterrent military force has been instrumental in ensuring the uninterrupted collection of taxes. Furthermore, military campaigns have played a pivotal role in safeguarding trade routes, thereby creating a conducive environment for the revitalization of economic activities.

### 1.1. The Great Fitna Period

The period between 852 and 912 within the Emirate era is referred to by historians as the "Great Fitna".<sup>6</sup> During this time, the reign of Amīr 'Abdallāh (882–912) was marked by rebellions, internal conflicts, social divisions, a lack of meritocracy, famine, natural disasters and the societal unrest caused by heavy taxation. These issues severely undermined the stability and order of the state. Notably, the recurrent famines and droughts of 849 and 888 had a profound impact on social life, further weakening the state's already fragile structure. The culmination of the Great Fitna period coincided with the rise of northern kingdoms, such as Asturias, León, Navarre and the County of Catalonia, contributing to the complexity of the socio-political landscape. Compounding the situation, armed forces that were unpaid and uncontrollable began to launch attacks on the local population, further exacerbating the prevailing social and economic crisis.<sup>7</sup>

During the reign of Amīr 'Abdallāh, numerous insurrection activities occurred in al-Andalus. In addition to these insurrectionist movements in the southern regions of al-Andalus, Deysem b. Ishāq perpetuated his insurrectionist activities in the territories of Tudmīr, Lūrka and Murcia. Concurrently, 'Ubaydullāh b. Umayya instigated insurrection in and around Jayyān, while Saīd b. Walīd b. Mestene incited unrest in Bāge and its surrounding fortresses, strategically positioned between Qurṭuba (Córdoba) and Jayyān. In the northeast of Jayyān, Banū Hābil led a rebellious uprising, while Ḥayr b. Shākīr led a separate insurrection within the castle of Shūzer, situated in the rural environs of Jayyān.<sup>8</sup> In Isbīliya (Sevilla), the governor of the central government, Umayya b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir from the *mawālī* Ibn 'Abda family, was deposed by an alliance formed by the rebel Arab tribes of Banū Hajjaj, Banū Khaldūn and Banū Kerīb. Ibrāhīm b. Hajjāj, a prominent figure within the alliance bloc, was appointed to the governorship in his stead. Amīr 'Abdallāh, unable to muster a military response, adopted a passive stance, acknowledging his governorship.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, Ibrāhīm proceeded to consolidate his dominion.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/13; 'Abd al-Majīd Munāwir al-Majālī, *Jaish al-Andalusi* (Urdun: Külliyyātu Dirāsāti al-Ulyā fi Jāmiati Urdun, 1995), 42.

<sup>4</sup> Munāwir, *Jaysh al-Andalusi*, 42; Husayn Mūnis, *Fajr al-Andalus* (Jeddah: Dār al-Saudiyya, 1985), 532.

<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad Hanāwī, *Nizām al-asker* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ilmiyya, 2008), 110-114.

<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the underlying causes of the great fitna, consult the following sources: Ibn al-Khatīb, *A'mal*, 22, 23, 36; 'Abd al-Majīd Na'na'i, *Tārīh al-Devlet al-Umayyā fi al-Andalus* (Beirut: Dār al-nahdā al-Arabiyya, 1986), 254, 255, 290, 291.

<sup>7</sup> Mehmet Özdemir, *Endülüs Müslümanları Siyasi Tarih* (Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı yayınları, 2016), 101, 105-161; M. Watt ve P. Cachia, *Endülüsi Tarihi*, trans. Adıgüzel ve Şükürova (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009), 45-62.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/122, 135.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 124, 125, 129; Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Inān, *Devlet al-Islam fi al-Andalus* (Kāhīrah: Mektebet al-Khanjī, 1969), 1/333; Na'na'i, *Tārīh al-Devlet al-Umayyā fi al-Andalus*, 305.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/125-129; Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Hadramī, *Kitāb al-Ibar wa diwān al-mubtada wa al-haber fi ayyāmi al-Arab wa al-Ajam wa al-Berber wa men āsarahum min zawī al-sultān al-akbar* (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1988), 4/135-7/380-381; Inān, *Devlet al-Islam*,

During the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, in addition to Arab and muwallad leaders, there were also rebels of Berber descent. Banū Zī al-Nun, members of the Berber Hawwara tribe, inhabited the city of Santaver, which had previously been under his rule. During the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, Banū Zī al-Nun gained power and influence in the region. The head of the tribe, Mūsā b. Zī al-Nun, led an army of approximately twenty thousand men and successfully overcame Lubb b. Terbishā and solidified his position of authority in the region. Subsequently, Muzaffar, a member of the same lineage, rebelled and renounced his allegiance. Concurrently, the Christians in the north exploited this upheaval to stage another revolt.<sup>11</sup>

‘Umar b. Hafsūn, a native of Muwelled and a resident of southern al-Andalus, participated in significant rebellions that undermined the central authority during the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh. He expanded his rebellion movement by taking control of the Ronda-Mālaqa region. Ibn Hafsūn, a leader of Christian Gothic descent, inherited a substantial fortune from his father and, leveraging his ambitious and shrewd personality, managed to exercise significant control over a portion of southern al-Andalus until the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. In 278/891, Ibn Hafsūn led a military campaign aimed at capturing the capital city of Qurṭuba, employing a force of thirty thousand men. In response, the Amīr of the time, ‘Abdallāh, mobilized his troops and was able to raise an army of eighteen thousand men under the command of ‘Ubaydullāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Abda, a *mawālī*. The confrontation between the two forces culminated in a decisive battle, wherein the amīr’s army, comprising the populace of Qurṭuba, effectively impeded Ibn Hafsūn’s advance.<sup>12</sup>

As demonstrated by the aforementioned information, the military weakness during the Amīr ‘Abdallāh period and the absence of deterrence from the military led to the state’s incapacity to effectively suppress the rebellion. Consequently, the power and influence of the rebellious groups reached proportions that jeopardized the state’s very existence. By the conclusion of the pertinent period, only Qurṭuba and its environs remained under central governance,<sup>13</sup> while insurgent leaders such as Ibn Hafsūn amassed an army of thirty thousand men and endeavored to capture the capital. This development underscores the state’s inability to effectively deter such insurrections, highlighting a critical vulnerability in its governance. To address this vulnerability, Tangier troops of Berber origin from North Africa were recruited and integrated into the military structure of al-Andalus.<sup>14</sup> However, the lack of centralized authority during this period hindered the effectiveness of this initiative to strengthen the military organization.

The military organization’s weak structure during Amīr ‘Abdallāh’s reign had a profound impact on the state’s economic prosperity. The emergence of insurrectionist movements within the peninsula precipitated a dual process: the gradual weakening of military power and the deepening of the financial imbalance. During the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, the annual tax revenue collected from al-Andalus remained at a mere three hundred thousand dinars. Of this total, one hundred thousand dinars were allocated to meet the needs of soldiers, servants and the amīr’s inner circle. However, when taxes could not be collected at a sufficient level due to the breakaways from the regions, all expenses were funded from the state treasury, leading to its rapid depletion.<sup>15</sup> A comparison of these figures with the figures from the periods of strong military organization that would follow makes the economic crisis of this period clearer. During the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, a decline in tax collections led to the state’s inability to meet its financial obligations, including soldier salaries, which constituted the primary expenditure of taxes.<sup>16</sup> The issuance of directives to rebels, demanding the settlement of outstanding taxes, was derided by rebel leaders.<sup>17</sup>

## 1.2. The Reigns of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II

Following the period of upheaval known as the Great Fitna, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III ascended to the throne. He inherited a state with

1/333-334; Na’naī, *Tāriḥ al-Devlet al-Umayya fi al-Andalus*, 303-304.

<sup>11</sup> Abū Marwān Ḥayyān b. Khalaf b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥayyān b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtebes fi anba’i al-Andalus*, Critical Ed. Muḥammad Mekki (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb, 1973), 111, 112, 342, 620, 621; Abū Marwan Khayyān b. Khalaf b. Husayn b. Ḥayyān b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtebes fi ahbāri bilādi al-Andalus*, Critical Ed. Salah al-Dīn al-Hawwārī (Beirut: Mektebat al-asrī, 2006), 37; Abū al-Hasan Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Jazari Ibn al-Asīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-tāriḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Sādir, 1982), 7/289; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Iber*, 4/131; Na’naī, *Tāriḥ al-Devlet al-Umayya fi al-Andalus*, 1/256-257, 307.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Makkī 104, 324-325; Inān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/324-325. It is also stated in historical sources that this army formed by Amīr ‘Abdallāh consisted of fourteen thousand people (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Makkī 104; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 23/395).

<sup>13</sup> Inān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/322-323.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/141, 147, 148.

<sup>15</sup> Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 23/395; Shihābüddīn Ahmed Makkārī, *Nefḥu al-tib min ḡusni al-Andalus al-ratib* (Beirut: Dārü Sādir, 1988), 1/352. See also. *Akhbār majmū’a* (Kāhīrah: Dār al-Kitāb al-Misrī, 1989), 150-151; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Iber*, 4/288; Makkārī, *Nefḥ*, 1/146.

<sup>16</sup> *Akhbār majmū’a*, 150-151; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 23/396; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Iber*, 4/288; Makkārī, *Nefḥ*, 1/146.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Kūtiyya, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, *Tāriḥu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, Critical ed. ‘Abdallāh Enis Tabba’ (Beirut: Messesat al-maarif, 1994), 135-136; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/124-125.



a weak central authority. The efforts to re-establish the central authority initiated during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III first yielded results with advances in the economic field.

From the moment he assumed office, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III engaged in intensive military activity with the objective of re-establishing central authority. Immediately following his ascension to the caliphate in 300/912, he undertook an expedition against the long-standing Ibn Hafsūn rebellion in the southern region of al-Andalus. After this initial campaign, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III led additional expeditions to the same region in 301/913 and 306/918, intending to decisively suppress the ongoing resistance.<sup>18</sup> In 304/916, a substantial military force, under the command of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abda, initiated a campaign into the domain of *Dār al-Harb* (territory of war). This campaign culminated in a substantial Muslim victory, accompanied by considerable spoils of war and the capture of numerous prisoners.<sup>19</sup> In the summer expedition to Kıştāle in 305/917 under the leadership of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abda, bureaucrats working in the divan also participated. These military campaigns were of paramount importance in terms of both consolidating authority and ensuring economic enrichment through booty and captives.<sup>20</sup>

Gradually consolidating his authority over the regions through a central army, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III also placed a high priority on collecting taxes from all the regions and cities he subjugated and brought under his central authority. According to the extant sources, during his campaigns in 306/918, tax revenues from the capture of strategically important cities such as Rayya began to increase, thereby significantly enriching the state treasury. This information is provided immediately following the final suppression of the rebellion movement initiated by 'Umar b. Hafsūn during the imāret period and continued by his son Ja'far during the caliphate period.<sup>21</sup> The provision of this information following the suppression of a rebellion that had occupied the central administration for many years constitutes one of the strongest pieces of evidence of the parallel relationship between military successes and tax revenues.

'Abd al-Raḥmān III's efforts to strengthen the state treasury by asserting central authority in both the southern and northern regions of al-Andalus are noteworthy. The subjugation of the rebellious Banū Zī al-Nun in the north, facilitated by military intervention, led to a notable increase in tax collections from this area. Concurrently, the expeditions to Bataleyevs (Badajoz) and Ushbūna (Lisbon) led to the establishment of central authority in these regions, ensuring the collection of taxes. In the northern territories, the most systematic tax collection occurred when Banū al-Tujīb, who wielded the greatest influence in the region, joined the central authority as a result of an agreement. This agreement led to the further enrichment of the central treasury through the transfer of tax revenues from the Banū al-Tujīb to the central authority. The Banū al-Tujīb, who were settled in Saraqusta, the capital of al-Saghru al-a'lā, were given control of the relevant places by the central authority in exchange for their cooperation.<sup>22</sup>

'Abd al-Raḥmān III demonstrated an uncompromising stance toward groups that rebelled to avoid paying taxes. Through the implementation of military interventions, he effectively ensured these groups' resumption of tax payments. In Lārida (Leida), a notable example is that of Abū Ahwaz, a rebel leader who had refused to pay taxes. Through a military campaign, he was subdued and compelled to resume his tax payments. A similar incident occurred with Yusuf ibn Suleiman, who initially demonstrated allegiance but subsequently defied his pledges, leading to his subjugation by an army under the command of the renowned general Ibn Basil. This ensured his compliance and the resumption of his tax payments.<sup>23</sup> Through these campaigns, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III effectively secured the state's economic interests.

During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the military organization emerged as an effective force in establishing central authority. The army achieved significant success in various areas, ranging from suppressing rebellions to gaining control over strategic cities. It was distinguished by its robust organizational structure, discipline during prolonged campaigns and its ability to establish authority in newly conquered regions. These factors demonstrated the highest level of effectiveness. These military achievements not only guaranteed political stability but also directly contributed to the strengthening of the state treasury and the enhancement of the economic well-being of the populace.

A comparative analysis of the reigns of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and Amīr 'Abdallāh, the final ruler of the Great Fitna period, reveals that the tax revenue collected during 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's reign was substantially higher. While the annual tax revenue collected

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta (Madrid: CSIC, 1975), 62-63, 103; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/160, 163, 166, 168, 169, 170, 174.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 127; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/169.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/169, 170.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/174.

<sup>22</sup> Abū Marwān Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes fi Enbāi ehli al-Endelūs*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 203-204, 406-407; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/191, 201.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 486; Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevārī, 175-176.

during ‘Abdallāh’s period amounted to 300,000 dinars, this figure rose to 5,480,000 dinars under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. Additionally, the taxes collected from markets amounted to 765,000 dinars.<sup>24</sup> This example clearly illustrates the economic prosperity during the rule of strong authoritarian leaders and highlights the effective functioning of the military organization, which operated in an orderly manner and fulfilled its duties comprehensively during this period.

A thorough examination of the construction and architectural activities that took place during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III reveals the immense wealth of the treasury of the period. Among the most notable projects of the era were the expansion of the Great Mosque of Qurṭuba and the construction of the lavishly designed and highly complex Madīnat al-Zahrā palace. The construction of military fortifications, garrison cities,<sup>25</sup> and other structures with the aim<sup>26</sup> of re-establishing the central authority further underscores the substantial affluence of the state treasury during this time. This prosperity also had a significant societal impact, benefiting the general populace. During this period, the population of Qurṭuba increased significantly, and numerous residential structures were built. According to historical records, during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, the population of Qurṭuba reached a total of 130,000 inhabitants, and there were 3,000 mosques in the city.<sup>27</sup>

Another indicator of the robust structure of the treasury during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III was the reduction or removal of certain taxes. The population, which had initially been burdened with various additional taxes to enrich the treasury and fully establish central authority, was relieved of these heavy tax obligations once central authority was secured and the treasury had reached a prosperous state. For instance, taxes in cities such as Ṭulayṭula (Toledo) were reduced by one-sixth. Similarly, substantial tax reductions were authorized for cities situated on the frontier that were engaged in combat with enemy forces. In 328/939, the inhabitants of Tortosa, a northern port city in al-Andalus, traveled to Qurṭuba to request assistance from the caliph, citing their perpetual state of warfare with external enemies. In response, the caliph mitigated their tax burden, acknowledging their unique circumstances.<sup>28</sup>

During the reign of Caliph (*ḥalīfa*) al-Hakam II, who succeeded ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, the military organization maintained its power and influence. The strength and functionality of the central army during the reign of al-Hakam II remained consistent with its operation under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. During this period, the absolute authority over the regions ensured that all elements of the military organization could operate in a coordinated and unified manner during military campaigns. Loyal commanders, entrusted by the central administration, spearheaded expeditions with the central army, while soldiers from *iqta* lands joined them, thereby enabling these campaigns to be executed with greater strength. A notable commander of the central army, Ghālīb ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, played an active role not only in the struggle for dominance in North Africa but also in the southern regions. In these efforts, he utilized *ṣaqālība* (Slavic) soldiers from the central army. In 361/971, Sāḥib al-shurṭa Ahmed ibn Nasr led a military campaign in Jaén against the rebellious amir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jūmhūr. Similarly, Sāḥib al-shurṭa amir al-Bahr Ibn Rumāḥiṣ initiated military expeditions in the eastern regions, including Tudmir, Balansiya (Valencia) and Tortosa achieving substantial military successes. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Munzir ibn Said also undertook an inspection campaign in Sheris (Jerez), Isbiliya, Niebla, Carmona, Murūr and Écija. During this period, rebellions that re-emerged in Isbiliya, led by Arab aristocrats from Banu Khaldūn, Banū Hajjaj and the Quraysh, were swiftly suppressed by the central army. Troops sent under the leadership of Sāḥib al-Ṣaqālība and Shurṭa al-ulya Muḥammad ibn Qasim ibn Tumlas apprehended the rebels and brought them to Qurṭuba.<sup>29</sup> The extant records demonstrate that, during the reign of al-Hakam II—a caliph who wielded as much authority and power as his father, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III—the central army fulfilled its duties against both internal and external threats, ensuring stability and order at the highest level.

During the reign of Caliph al-Hakam, the robust military organization facilitated a sustained augmentation in state revenues.<sup>30</sup> The escalation in the emoluments of commanders<sup>31</sup> and the erection of Gormaz Fortress, a preeminent military edifice of the caliphate period, further substantiate the state’s economic affluence.<sup>32</sup> This era is distinguished by its opulent and resplendent

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/231-232; Makkārī, *Nefh*, 1/379; Yasar Emrah Koşdaş, *Endülüs Emevî Devleti’nde Askerî Teşkilat ve Siyasî İktisadî Hayata Etkileri* (Rize: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi, Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü), 301.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 199-202, 209, 211; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/190-194; Wafā ‘Ubayd al-Rihlī, ‘Devr al-askerî li al-hisnī Andalusī’, *Majallat al-jāmiati Malik ‘Abd al-Azīz* 26/12 (2018), 296; Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 200; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/190.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 167, 455, 456; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Cities Founded by the Muslims in al-Andalus”, *The Formation of al-Andalus: History and Society*, Critical Ed. Manuela Marín (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 278, 279-286.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/229, 230-232; Makkārī, *Nefh*, 1/354; Koşdaş, *Endülüs Emevî Devleti’nde Askerî Teşkilat*, 303.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 468; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/249.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevvārī, 75, 70, 95, 96, 132, 169, 170; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/240.

<sup>30</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abdallāh Himyerī, *Sifātu Jazīrat al-Andalus* (Beirut: Dār al-Jayl, 1988), 24.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevvārī, 79. See also. Makkārī, *Nefh*, 1/380.

<sup>32</sup> Bashīr Radhi, *el Ejercito en la Epoca del Califato de al-Andalus* (Madrid: Complutense, 1990), 2/873, 874.

architectural achievements. The most comprehensive account of this phenomenon is found in Ibn Hayyan's narration, which details the impressions of delegations from the Maghreb upon their visit to the Madinat al-Zahrā palace during Hakam's reign. Before meeting the caliph, the delegations traversed an area referred to as munya, where they encountered an array of fruits, opulent furnishings and a level of wealth so grand it left them in awe.<sup>33</sup>

Another indicator of the economic prosperity experienced during the reign of Hakam II is evidenced by the state's tax reductions for the populace. During this period, the Caliph reduced the taxes of the people living in al-Andalus Provinces by one-sixth, and, in addition, on his deathbed, Hakam II ordered the cancellation of all al-Andalusianes's debts at the same rate. This tax amnesty was applied not only to the general population but also to the laborers and commanders in the provinces.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.3. The 'Āmirid Period

The 'Āmirids were a prominent family that wielded significant influence in the administration of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus during its final phase, from 981 to 1009. The most notable leader of this period was Abū Amīr al-Mansūr, a powerful *hājib*. Al-Mansūr effectively weakened the caliphate and seized de facto power, implementing substantial reforms in both the military and administrative structures.<sup>35</sup>

During the leadership of Abū Amīr al-Mansūr and his son al-Muẓaffar, the military organization maintained its strength and influence at the highest levels. The period of Abū Amīr al-Mansūr witnessed substantial transformations in the realm of administrative policies, with one of the most salient changes being the abolition of the *iqta* system.<sup>36</sup> This system, which had been instituted during the early governorships, played a pivotal role within the military organization. In its stead, al-Mansūr established a new army comprising Berbers from Tangier, who were brought in from North Africa. This shift precipitated a comprehensive overhaul of the military organization's policies. The newly constituted army successfully demonstrated the power and authority of the state, launching numerous successful campaigns, particularly in the northern regions, effectively suppressing revolts by the *ṣaqāliba* and previous Berber factions. Military campaigns against northern kingdoms such as Castille and León not only neutralized threats to Muslim territories but also shifted the political balance in favor of the Muslims. A notable campaign was the expedition to Medinat al-Salim, which resulted in significant victories and spoils, thereby further enhancing Muslim military superiority. Similarly, campaigns in the al-Saghr al-a'la region, including victories against the Franks, led to a notable strengthening of Muslim presence and influence in the area. Commanders such as Ghālib ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Sa'id ibn Hakam al-Jafari achieved remarkable military successes during this period. Abū Amīr al-Mansūr's role as *hājib* was instrumental in the Umayyad State of al-Andalus's maintenance of strength and continuity, as evidenced by his leadership of fifty-seven military campaigns. This legacy positions al-Mansūr as a pivotal figure in the state's military and political history.<sup>37</sup>

During the tenure of *hājib* 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who succeeded Abū Amīr al-Mansūr, the influence of the Berbers, who had been brought from North Africa and who had become a central component of the army, continued within the central forces. In 393/1003, al-Muẓaffar led a campaign to Barcelona, capturing Mumaksar Fortress<sup>38</sup> and resettling Muslims in the area.<sup>39</sup> The campaign against Martīn Fortress in 398/1007 was won through the significant efforts of the central army's archery units. The use of mangonels during this campaign greatly facilitated the army's success. Furthermore, in 396/1005, al-Muẓaffar attained substantial success during the campaigns to Hısnu Bawānīsh and Hādrū Ibnīyūnīsh, resulting in the destruction of numerous regions and the capture of a considerable number of prisoners and spoils.<sup>40</sup>

During the 'Āmirid period, despite the occurrence of various administrative and military changes, the military organization

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Almagro, "La Puerta Califal del Castillo de Gormaz", *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 5 (2008), 55, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevvārī, 33, 34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevvārī, 162; Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/249.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/278; Makkārī, *Nefh*, 1/397.

<sup>36</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Walīd Turtūshī al-Mālikī, *Sirāj al-mulūk* (Mısır: s.n. 1289/1872), 123, 124; D. Munire bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharī, 'al-Mansūr bin Abī Āmir: Bayna al-hedm wa al-bīnā', *Majallat al-ulūm al-insāniyya wa al-itimā'iyya* 40 (1437/2016), 246).

<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *al-Kāmil*, 9/113, 114, 176; Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/284, 301.

<sup>38</sup> Hısn al-Mumaksar : The geographical (buldān) books provide no information regarding this location. However, Shakib Arslan associates this fortress with a location called al-Qasr, situated in a mountainous area west of Turkuhne (Tarragona). He asserts that the name of this location has undergone changes over time. (Shakib Arslan, *al-Hulal al-Sundusiyya fi Akhbari wa Athar al-Andalusiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1997), 2/214).

<sup>39</sup> Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3/5-7.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3/13, 18-23. See also. Muḥammad Bashīr Hasan, *Tārīh al-baladi al-Andalus fi al-asri al-Islami* (Beirut: Dār al-kutubi al-ilmiyye, 1971), 153-159; Imāmuddin, S. M. *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: Rehber, 1990), 236.



maintained its strength and influence, thereby enabling an increase in tax revenues and the level of economic prosperity. According to historical sources, tax revenues from Qurṭuba alone amounted to 1,300,000 mithqals of gold during this period.<sup>41</sup> As Abū Amīr al-Mansūr's power and influence grew while he governed the state with the title of hājib, the treasury's revenues also continued to increase, reaching a total of 4,000,000 mithqals.<sup>42</sup> This period also saw significant rises in the salaries paid to soldiers and other allowances.<sup>43</sup> This figure is notably close to the tax revenues collected during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, which is considered the peak of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus.

The economic prosperity of the 'Āmirid period is evident in the construction and restoration projects undertaken during this time. Significant structures such as the Great Mosque of Qurṭuba and the Qurṭuba Bridge underwent extensive restoration. Notably, the restoration of the bridge alone cost 140,000 dinars. Additionally, a bridge was constructed in Écija and roads were built in various regions, further reflecting the economic strength of this period.<sup>44</sup>

#### 1.4. The Period from The Decline of the 'Āmirids to The Fall of The Umayyad State of al-Andalus

During the tenure of the last hājib of the 'Āmirid dynasty, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abū Amīr, indulgence in luxury and political indiscipline accelerated the dynasty's collapse. The Berbers of North African origin, who had been integrated into the army during the reign of Abū Amīr al-Mansūr, were unpopular among the people of Qurṭuba. The discontented population, in alliance with Muḥammad ibn Hisham from the Umayyad family, looted the Madinat al-Zahira palace, marking the end of the 'Āmirid dynasty.<sup>45</sup> Following this event, the power disputes and civil wars that unfolded until the fall of al-Andalus resulted in the military organization losing its strength and authority.

Muḥammad II's success in overthrowing the 'Āmirid dynasty, achieved with the aid of various groups within the Qurṭuba populace, marked a significant turning point in the region's political landscape. However, his failure to establish a professional military apparatus that could translate his gains into a lasting centralized authority is arguably a major factor in the subsequent decline of his reign. Prior to this juncture, pivotal elements that had formerly held substantial influence over the military apparatus, including the *mawālī*, the aristocracy and the Berbers, did not endorse Muḥammad II. The sole source of support for the latter came from the civilian population of Qurṭuba. This disadvantage became a primary factor that eroded his authority. Concurrently, the Berbers united under the leadership of Sulaiman ibn al-Hakam, a member of the Umayyad family and endeavored to assert their dominance through a joint effort with Sancho ibn García, the King of León in the north. Faced with this insurrection, Muḥammad II found himself unable to counter the movement, as his civilian supporters lacked the military capabilities necessary to prevail. Consequently, Muḥammad II was ultimately defeated and deposed in his efforts to challenge Sulaiman ibn al-Hakam. Moreover, sources from the period also highlight the involvement of Christian soldiers in these conflicts.<sup>46</sup> However, Sulaiman ibn al-Hakam's success was ephemeral. The deposed caliph Muḥammad II, with the support of the Count of Barcelona, raised an army of 20,000 soldiers and regained control of the government. Upon returning to power, Muḥammad II sought to establish a strong army and consolidate his authority. To secure the financial resources needed for this effort, he attempted to collect taxes from the populace. However, this initiative encountered profound public resistance, leading to the deposing of Muḥammad II and the subsequent restoration of Hisham al-Mu'ayyad to the caliphate by the commanders of the *ṣaqāliba* origin.<sup>47</sup> During the reign of Muḥammad II, the Berbers, who had been expelled from Qurṭuba and dispersed to various regions of al-Andalus, formed alliances with the Hammudids in an attempt to regain power. Under the leadership of Ali ibn Hammud, the Berbers regained strength, launched an attack on Qurṭuba and seized control of the government. However, due to the weak rule of Ali and the ineffectiveness of his successor Qasim, the people of Qurṭuba expelled the Hammudids and Berbers from the city, proclaiming 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Hisham from the Umayyad family as caliph. Despite this, the Hammudids regrouped and reoccupied the capital. However, upon witnessing the severe economic and political crises within the state, they abandoned the city once more. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, unable to establish a strong army, sought to collaborate with the unpopular

<sup>41</sup> Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Anas, Uzrī, *Nusūṣ ani al-Andalus min kitābi al-tersī'u al-ahbār wa tenviu al-asar, wa al-bustān fī ḡara'ib al-buldān wa al-masālik ilā cami'i al-mamālik* (Madrid: Catedrático de Universidad Kāhīrah, n.d.), 121.

<sup>42</sup> This figure, expressed in the relevant period, encompasses not only tax revenues but also those derived from booty and other revenues. Ibn al-Khatīb, *A'māl*, 98.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/296-297; Koşdaş, *Endülüsi Emevî Devleti'nde Askerî Teşkilat*, 305.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/288; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/408; *Zikru bilād al-Endelüs*, 182.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 8/679; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3/48, 49; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/426; Nizamettin Parlak, *Endülüsi'ün Çöküşü* (İstanbul: Hikmetevi, 2021), 24, 25.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 8/680; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3/51; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 153, 155.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 9/217; Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3/52; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/428; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 155.

Berbers, which led to his removal from power.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the last Umayyad caliph, Hisham III, faced public backlash when he attempted to form a central army relying on the Berbers. Eventually, the people revolted and deposed him as well. This event marked the complete end of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn's observation that "the tax revenues of al-Andalus increase during times of peace and stability but decline during periods of chaos and social crises"<sup>50</sup> vividly illustrates the societal and economic impacts of political and military crises. In this context, it becomes evident that the state, grappling with political instability and military turmoil, also faced a severe economic crisis. Following the dissolution of the *iqta* system, the populace was subjected to considerable pressure from tax collectors, which included the confiscation of property, resulting in economic weakness and the abandonment of agricultural lands.<sup>51</sup> The state treasury was left depleted due to the inability to collect taxes, thereby severely restricting the capacity of successive political administrations to establish and maintain a functioning army.<sup>52</sup> When new administrations attempted to strengthen the treasury by increasing taxes, public dissatisfaction grew, often leading to uprisings.<sup>53</sup>

The shortcomings of the short-lived rulers in establishing a formidable military apparatus inevitably led to the brevity of their reigns. The prevailing military forces were inadequate to uphold the state's legitimacy, engage in military campaigns and ensure security and public order within urban centers. During this period, the breakdown of public order prevented the people of Qurtuba from opening their shops and cultivating their fields.<sup>54</sup> The aforementioned issues underscore the military organization's inadequacy in fulfilling its pivotal role in maintaining security and public order. Furthermore, the Hammudids' attempt to regain power by regrouping and reoccupying the capital, only to subsequently abandon Qurtuba after encountering the city's chaos, highlights the extent of instability and insecurity characterizing this period.<sup>55</sup> This situation stems from the inability of successive leaders to establish a strong military organization, thereby failing to consolidate their authority. These findings highlight the critical role of the military organization in ensuring the sustainability of the economic structure.

During this period, other indicators of economic prosperity, such as military campaigns and construction activities, also ceased. The state treasury was depleted, military operations could no longer be conducted and security in the cities could not be maintained. As Ibn Khaldūn observed, the *kharāj* revenues, which increased during times of peace, significantly declined during this chaotic period. Consequently, the state was unable to fulfill its fundamental functions.

## 2. Impact on Commercial Activities

The Umayyad State of al-Andalus's military organization directly influenced two fundamental elements that contributed to the development of trade. The first was the construction of military fortifications in agricultural regions for the protection of crops. The second was the establishment of a secure trade environment through the maintenance of public order across the country. The military organization undertook vital tasks such as ensuring the safety of trade routes, protecting ports and promoting maritime trade. By ensuring the security of both overland and Mediterranean trade routes, the military organization established the foundation for a robust economic structure, attracting both Muslim and foreign merchants to the lands of al-Andalus.<sup>56</sup> This, in turn, fostered trade growth and contributed to economic prosperity.

In the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, agricultural activities, which provided the foundation for traded goods, held significant importance from the period of conquest onwards. During the conquest, military groups of Shamī origin were settled in rural areas. As these groups lacked agricultural experience, land ownership was granted to them, but the agricultural production was carried out by the lands' former owners, Christian farmers. The Syrian soldiers sustained their livelihoods through shares of the produced crops.<sup>57</sup>

The importance of agriculture is further underscored by the presence of *hisan*, fortified structures known for their socio-military characteristics. These structures were equipped with irrigation systems tailored to the era's conditions, thereby fostering the

<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 9/277-279; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/436; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 160. See also. İnān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 2/665-666.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 9/217, 242, 269-271, 273, 277, 279; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/436, 438; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 155-161; Na'naī, *Tārih al-Devlet al-Umayya fī al-Andalus*, 562, 563, 566, 567; İnān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 2/664, 669

<sup>50</sup> İbn Haldūn, *Kitāb al-Iber*, 4/288.

<sup>51</sup> Turtūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, 23, 124.

<sup>52</sup> Na'naī, *Tārih al-Devlet al-Umayya fī al-Andalus*, 562, 563; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 160. See also. İnān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 2/664.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 9/217; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 155.

<sup>54</sup> Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/435; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 159.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Asīr, *el-Kāmil*, 9/277-279; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/436; Özdemir, *Siyasî Tarih*, 160.

<sup>56</sup> For detailed information on the establishment and development of the navy in the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, see Osman Curuk, "İlk Dönem Endülüs Denizciliği ve Endülüs Donanmasının Teşekkülü", *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 25/1 (Mart 2025), 679-711.

<sup>57</sup> Hanāwī, *Nizām al-asker*, 86.

sustainability of agriculture. The irrigation systems in the hills of Majrit, Tiscar and Munakkab provide tangible evidence of the emphasis placed on agriculture in this region.<sup>58</sup>

During periods of effective military organization, the protection of trade routes and agricultural areas facilitated the consistent exchange of goods in the marketplace.<sup>59</sup> As in the Roman period, the trade of agricultural products was made possible by the protection of farmland by soldiers of that era.<sup>60</sup> A similar system was in place in al-Andalus, where the security of agricultural activities in rural regions, particularly in areas referred to as *kuwar*, was ensured by *hisn* (fortified structures) under the oversight of the central administration.<sup>61</sup> These *hisn* were equipped with structures such as storage towers (*albacar*), which played a pivotal role in the protection of agricultural lands. Through these structures, production was sustained securely and the preservation of agricultural products as trade commodities was also ensured.<sup>62</sup>

The military organization's effective functioning established a secure environment, which proved instrumental in the revitalization of trade. This contribution was facilitated by fortified structures, which also played a significant role in protecting agricultural areas. However, the chaos experienced during the Great Fitna period in al-Andalus led to the collapse of security and public order, negatively impacting commercial activities. A notable example of this disruption was the rebellion of Ibn Hafsūn in southern al-Andalus, which led to the seizure of key trade routes and the obstruction of access to Qurṭuba. This disruption had the additional effect of creating a need for merchants to travel in large caravans for protection and in some cases, to pay tribute to bandits to ensure their safety.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, coastal cities and trade routes experienced adverse effects due to the rebellions, exacerbating the challenges associated with trade activities. The political crises and the weakening of the military organization during this period also resulted in widespread security vulnerabilities and an escalation in crime rates across the country. Rebel groups engaged in banditry, targeting travelers at strategic intersections, such as those connecting Jayyān and Elvira in southern al-Andalus, leading to the seizure of their lives and property. These activities severely disrupted the region's stability and economic operations.<sup>64</sup>

During the period known as the Great Fitna, when the military organization was particularly weak, these events significantly disrupted commercial activities. The weakening of military power and the subsequent breakdown of the security and public order system resulted in the collapse of economic stability. This situation persisted until the accession of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. After his ascension to power, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III initiated military campaigns intending to restore central authority and suppress rebellions. These campaigns enabled the re-establishment of security and order in southern al-Andalus. In addition to these campaigns, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III constructed military fortifications at strategic passage points. These fortifications were intended to prevent banditry in previously troubled areas and defend against potential sea threats.<sup>65</sup>

The construction of these structures directly contributed to ensuring the safety of trade caravans. Historical sources describe the southern regions of al-Andalus, referred to as the gateway to the Maghreb and the broader Islamic world in the east,<sup>66</sup> as having largely broken away from central authority during the Great Fitna period due to Ibn Hafsūn's rebellion. During this period, the city of Algeciras (Jazirat al-Khadra), situated at the southernmost point of the Iberian Peninsula, came under the dominion of Ibn Hafsūn. There, he engaged in diverse military and commercial endeavors, employing his own fleet.<sup>67</sup> The actions

<sup>58</sup> Sonia Villar Mañas, "La fortaleza de Tíscar: La Organización del Espacio de Hábitat, Agrícola y Ganadero en un Asentamiento de Montaña en Época Andalusí", *Al-Qanṭara* 44/2 (2023), 15.

<sup>59</sup> Uzrī, *Nusūs*, 65, 66; Hanāwī, *Nizām al-asker*, 86; Antonio Malalana Ureña, "Mayrit Durante los Siglos IX-XI. Arquitectura Militar, Población Territorio". *Espacio Tiempo Forma Serie I Prehistoria Arqueología* 10 (2017), 231; Sonia, "La fortaleza de Tíscar", 7-8.

<sup>60</sup> Ata Atabey-Baki Yılmaz-Halenur Yılmaz, "Ortaçağ Avrupa'sında İktisadi ve Siyasi Tarih Çerçevesinde Muhasebe İhtiyacı ve Çift Taraflı Kayıt Tekniği: Lisans ve Lisans Üstü Öğrenciler İçin Bir Rehber", *Muhasebe ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2018), 11, 12; Koşdaş, *Endülü's Emevî Devleti'nde Askerî Teşkilat*, 308.

<sup>61</sup> Hasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Attās, "al-Awāmīl al-siyāsiyya wa al-intisādiyya al-muessire "ala al-tijāret bayna al-Andalus and al-Khalij al-Arabi (831-244H/813-1257M)", *Majellet kulliyāti al-luġāti al-'Arabi*, 35/2 (2022), 4212, 4213.

<sup>62</sup> Mikel Epalza, 'Las Funciones Ganaderas de los Albacares en las Fortalezas Musulmanas.' *La Toponimia Árabe en la Península Ibérica* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984), 10-11. See also. Hanāwī, *Nizām al-asker*, 207.

<sup>63</sup> 'Attās, "al-Awāmīl al-siyāsiyya wa al-iktisādiyya al-muessire "ala al-tijāret beyne al-Andalus and al-Khalij al-Arabi (831-244H/813-1257M)", 4212, 4213.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Makkī, 343-345; Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 179.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 179, 211, 223-224. See also. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Cities Founded by the Muslims in al-Andalus", 269-270.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Izārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/204, Makkārī, *Nefh*, 1/363. See also. Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 256-258; Jorge Lirola Delgado, *el-Poder Naval de al-Andalus en la Epoca de Califato Omeya* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991), 179-188.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 87; Inān, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/322, 323; Koşdaş, *Endülü's Emevî Devleti'nde Askerî Teşkilat*, 312.

of Ibn Hafsūn exerted a substantial adverse influence on the economic relations between the Rustamids of North Africa and the Qurṭuba administration, particularly concerning trade.<sup>68</sup> Following the re-establishment of central authority under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and suppressing rebellions in the southern regions, the strategically significant port of Algeciras (Jazirat al-Khadra) was recaptured. It was subsequently transformed into a naval base, with sailors and ships brought in from various parts of al-Andalus. Military equipment and pitch were also delivered to the area for use as weapons on the ships stationed there. In the wake of these developments, caliphal ships initiated patrols of the Mediterranean and the Strait of Gibraltar, effectively severing Ibn Hafsūn’s access to the sea. These actions unequivocally demonstrate that the endeavors undertaken during this period were aimed at revitalizing trade activities, particularly with the Maghreb region.<sup>69</sup> Under the robust and commanding leadership of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, these endeavors guaranteed security and stability both on land and at sea. On land, insurrections were repressed and the construction of *hisn* fortified the security of trade routes. At sea, naval bases were established and patrol missions were executed to maintain order and security.

Following the restoration of order and stability in the southern regions by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, merchants from both Maghrebi and European regions began to flock to al-Andalus. The strengthening of both land and naval forces played a crucial role in this process. During his reign, trade with the Maghreb expanded significantly, particularly with the trade of livestock from the region. In the west, following a conflict with Count Sunyer ibn Wilfred of Barcelona, a peace treaty was reached. As part of this agreement, delegations from Barcelona and the surrounding kingdoms visited Qurṭuba to establish peace and forge alliances with the caliph. Among these visitors was Ence, identified as the King of Arles or Navarre, who negotiated a commercial agreement with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, requesting that merchants be allowed to trade freely in al-Andalus. These agreements granted freedom of trade across the Maghreb and all coastal regions of al-Andalus. The state guaranteed the safety of merchant's lives and property, further promoting commercial activity in the area.<sup>70</sup> In the same year, a fleet of ships belonging to fabric known as the “Malfiyyin” arrived in al-Andalus. These merchants, visiting al-Andalus for the first time for trade purposes, brought with them a special type of fabric “Birfir”, made from silk and characterized by a blend of red and blue hues. This commercial agreement proved to be a significant source of satisfaction for the people of al-Andalus and following this initial visit, the merchants began to travel to al-Andalus regularly, fostering a sustained trade relationship.<sup>71</sup>

An examination of the periods of peak commercial activity in al-Andalus reveals a concurrence with times when the military organization was at its strongest. Similarly, periods marked by increased naval investments and the stringent security of ports, naval bases and cities correspond to times of a robust military structure.<sup>72</sup> The naval bases constructed during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in Pechina, Almeria and Málaga facilitated the establishment of a powerful navy in al-Andalus. This development, in turn, contributed to the enhancement of regional stability and security, thereby establishing a conducive environment for the flourishing of commercial activities.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, during this period, the tax revenue collected solely from markets and bazaars rose to 765,000 dinars, providing a concrete illustration of this phenomenon.<sup>74</sup> These figures reveal that the bazaar tax revenue during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, when the military organization was strong, was more than twice the total revenue of 300,000 dinars collected from all of al-Andalus during the reign of Amīr ‘Abdallāh, when the military organization was weak. This comparison is directly linked to the presence of a strong military organization. During periods of robust military strength, the establishment of security measures has been shown to facilitate the establishment of commercial activity, thereby driving economic prosperity.

<sup>68</sup> İbrāhīm Kadir Butshish, ‘Ezmet al-tijāra fi al-Andalus fi awāhiri asri al-imāra: 250-300 H.’, *Divān al-kān: Tekārīr al-tārihiyye*, 12/44 (2019), 111.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 88, 368-369.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 454; Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Makkī, 277.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Chalmeta, 478. This information, as presented in Nizamettin Parlak’s work, is based on the analysis of commercial developments during the specified period and provides a comprehensive perspective on the scope of these activities. Notably, the discovery of a dirham minted in Qurṭuba on the remains of a skeleton found in the Cerne Abbey mines in the Dorset region of England towards the end of the 10th century holds great significance. This finding offers invaluable insights into the extent of commercial relations between England and al-Andalus along the Bay of Biscay (Parlak, *Endülüs’ün Yükselişi*, 142-143).

<sup>72</sup> In al-Andalus, to ensure the security of ports, watchtowers were constructed along the coastline, the navy conducted regular patrols, and strict control regulations were enforced for trade ships for detailed information, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 112-133.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Makkī, 518.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn İzārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2/231-232; Makkarī, *Nefh*, 1/379.

## Conclusion

The Umayyad State of al-Andalus offers a compelling historical case study, underscoring the intricate relationship between military organization and economic prosperity. Research has demonstrated that robust and well-coordinated military organization directly contributes to economic stability by safeguarding tax revenues, trade routes, and agricultural production. Conversely, weaknesses in the military apparatus, as observed during the Great Fitna and subsequent periods of political instability, precipitate widespread economic crises and social unrest.

During the reigns of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, the establishment of centralized authority and military discipline facilitated remarkable economic growth, as evidenced by increased tax revenues, the flourishing of trade, and expansive architectural projects. These accomplishments underscore the critical role of a robust military in sustaining not only political order but also economic vitality. The military's efficacy in safeguarding agricultural regions, ensuring the security of trade routes, and maintaining public order fostered an environment conducive to prosperity.

In contrast, periods of military and political disarray—such as the late ‘Āmirid era and the ultimate decline of the Umayyad State—exposed the fragility of the economic structure in the absence of security and stability. The inability to collect taxes, protect trade routes, and sustain agricultural productivity resulted in the depletion of the state treasury and widespread public dissatisfaction. The findings underscore the indispensable role of a robust and disciplined military in fostering economic resilience and societal well-being.



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